

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8912
INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BRASILIA 9859

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: TECH, ENRG, PARM, BR, GW
SUBJ: EMBASSY PRESS BACKGROUNDER ON U.S. NON-PROLIFERATION
OBJECTIVES

REF: (A) BRASILIA 9622, (B) BRASILIA 9838

1. SUMMARY. IN TWO BACKGROUND BRIEFINGS, NOVEMBER 19 AND 23, BASED ON PRESIDENT FORD'S OCTOBER 28 STATEMENT, EMBASSY HAS SOUGHT TO COUNTER PERSISTENT MISREPORTING IN BRAZILIAN PRESS OF U.S. GLOBAL NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES. MAJOR SAO PAULO PAPERS, NOVEMBER 24-26, GAVE EXTENSIVE NEWS AND EDITORIAL COVERAGE, BOTH PRO AND CON THE U.S. POSITION. OBJECTIVE OF BRIEFING-- TO FOCUS BRAZILIAN PUBLIC PERCEPTION ON THE NATURE OF U.S. CONCERNS -- HAS, EMBASSY'S VIEW, BEEN ACHIEVED: CONTROVERSY HAS PRODUCED FIRST FULL AND FAVORABLE PRESENTATION OF THE U.S. POSITION IN THE BRAZILIAN PRESS, WITH EVEN HOSTILE COMMENT NOW TAKING AIM AT THE REPROCESSING ISSUE RATHER THAN SIMPLY ALLEGED U.S. OPPOSITION TO GERMAN NUCLEAR REACTOR SALES ON COMMERCIAL GROUNDS AND TO BASIC BRAZILIAN DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES.

2. OFFICIAL REACTION HAS BEEN LIMITED. GOB HAS NOT, APPARENTLY, AUTHORIZED COMMENT ON THE BRIEFING --
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ALTHOUGH ONE, UNAUTHORIZED, FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE,

NOVEMBER 25, SAW AMBASSADOR'S BELO HORIZONTE SPEECH ON US TRADITION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS, AS PART OF DEVELOPING US STRATEGY OF ENCIRCLEMENT AND PRESSURE AGAINST BRAZIL-FRG NUCLEAR ACCORD (REFTEL B). PRESTIGIOUS O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO'S EDITORIAL NOVEMBER 26, PROVIDING ACCURATE SUMMARY OF US CONCERNS AND CALLING FOR MORATORIUM ON DEBATE UNTIL AFTER PRESIDENT-ELECT'S INAUGURATION, CORRESPONDS WITH EVIDENT GOB DESIRES TO MINIMIZE FURTHER PUBLIC DEBATE OF WHAT IS NOW GENERALLY RECOGNIZED AS A SERIOUS AND CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE US-BRAZIL RELATIONSHIP.

END SUMMARY.

3. AS NOTED IN PREVIOUS EMBASSY REPORTING, US NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN, ALMOST UNIFORMLY, MISREPORTED BY THE BRAZILIAN PRESS. A PROBLEM OF LONG STANDING -- DESPITE THE EMBASSY'S REPEATED EFFORTS, SUCH AS THE AMBASSADOR'S VARIOUS INTERVIEWS, TO CORRECT MISINTERPRETATIONS -- THE NATURE OF BRAZILIAN PRESS COVERAGE HAS BEEN A REFLECTION OF DEEP NATIONAL PRIDE, STRIVING FOR GREATER NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AND ASPIRATION FOR MAJOR POWER STATUS, FOR WHICH BRAZIL-GERMAN NUCLEAR ACCORD HAS COME TO STAND AS A SYMBOL. MOST RECENT INSTANCE OF THE PRESS PROBLEMS FACING THE U.S. HAS BEEN THE MASSIVE EDITORIAL COMMENT FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S NUCLEAR POLICY STATEMENT IN PLAINS ON NOVEMBER 15 (REFTEL A).

4. MAJOR ELEMENTS OF MISLEADING PRESS REPORTING HERE IN BRAZIL HAVE BEEN:

(A) A TENDENCY, BEFORE THE U.S. ELECTION, TO MINIMIZE AND DISMISS THE DEBATE OVER NUCLEAR POLICY IN THE U.S. AS ESSENTIALLY AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN GAMBIT.

(B) REPRESENTATION OF THE U.S. AS HOSTILE TO NUCLEAR POWER DEVELOPMENT IN LDCS AND, MORE PARTICULARLY, AS OPPOSED TO THE ACQUISITION BY LDCS, NOTABLY BRAZIL, OF NUCLEAR POWER AND NUCLEAR ENGINEERING TECHNOLOGY.

(C) A TENDENCY TO REPRESENT U.S. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AS
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TION CONCERNS AS A SMOKESCREEN FOR COMMERCIAL MOTIVES -- NUMEROUS UNHELPFUL COMMENTS FROM GERMAN SOURCES, PARTICULARLY KWU, MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THIS -- AND TO INTERPRET U.S. MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR WASTE PRODUCTS, AS IN FACT PRIMARILY DIRECTED AT THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN AGREEMENT AS A WHOLE.

(D) RENEWED MENTION OF ALLEGED BRAZILIAN LONG-TERM POLI-

TICAL OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT WITH THE FRG -- SUCH AS THE DESIRE TO REDUCE NUCLEAR INEQUALITY AND TO RESTORE, THROUGH BILATERAL COOPERATIVE EFFORTS IN THIS AND IN OTHER AREAS -- A GREATER MEASURE OF INDEPENDENCE TO TWO CLOSE US ALLIES, BRAZIL AND THE FRG.

(E) SCANT ATTENTION TO EXISTING US NUCLEAR POLICY, AS SUMMARIZED IN PRESIDENT FORD'S OCTOBER 28 STATEMENT, AND THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE UNDERLYING FRI REPORT.

(F) MISREPORTING IN VIRTUALLY ALL BRAZILIAN PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S NOVEMBER 15 REMARKS (REFTEL A), NOTABLY USE OF THE TERM "NUCLEAR PLANTS" IN PLACE OF "REPROCESSING PLANTS", WITH THE INFERENCE THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE OPPOSED TO BRAZIL'S NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAM AS A WHOLE AND SEEK ABROGATION, IN TOTO, OF THE FRG-BRAZIL NUCLEAR ACCORD.

5. IN EFFORT TO OBTAIN MORE BALANCED PRESS TREATMENT OF THE ISSUE, EMBASSY PROVIDED TWO PRESS BACKGROUNDER ARRANGED BY USIS ON PRESIDENT FORD'S OCTOBER 28 STATEMENT IN BRASILIA, NOVEMBER 19, AND SAO PAULO, NOVEMBER 23. BRIEFING, GIVEN BY EMBASSY'S ECONOMIC COUNSELOR, EMPHASIZED, INTER ALIA:

(A) THE GLOBAL, MULTILATERAL CHARACTER OF THE ISSUE, ITS VARIOUS ANTECEDENTS, BESIDES THE BRAZIL-GERMAN NUCLEAR ACCORD;

(B) THE FACT THAT THE USG, IN NO SENSE, WAS OPPOSED TO BRAZIL'S NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAM BUT UNDER CURRENT POLICY RECOGNIZED AND SUPPORTED THE NECESSITY OF NUCLEAR POWER DEVELOPMENT, AT LEAST UNTIL NEW TECHNOLOGIES CAN BE PHASED
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IN SUBSTANTIALLY LATER IN THE CENTURY;

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(C) THE U.S. DECISION, FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS, TO SUSPEND APPLICATION OF REPROCESSING TECHNOLOGY IN THE U.S.;

(D) THE U.S. CONVICTION OF THE NEED FOR NEW MEASURES, ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS, BEYOND THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE EXISTING SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM, TO COUNTER THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION RESULTING FROM THE WORLD-WIDE DISSEMINATION OF NUCLEAR WASTES AND REPROCESSING TECHNOLOGY. BRIEFING OFFICER ALSO PROVIDED TEXT OF PRESIDENT-ELECT'S NOVEMBER 15 STATEMENT, NOTED THAT STATEMENT SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO REPROCESSING PLANS, BUT THAT EMBASSY WOULD NOT, AND WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO, SPECULATE ON THE SCOPE AND DIRECTION OF THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION'S STEPS IN THIS AREA.

6. NEWS REPORTING AND EDITORIAL COMMENT, NOVEMBER 21 AND 24-26, RESULTING FROM THE BACKGROUNDERS, HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIAL, ALTHOUGH ESSENTIALLY LIMITED TO THE THREE MAJOR SAO PAULO PAPERS, WITH JORNAL DA TARDE STRONGLY IN SUPPORT OF THE U.S. POSITION, FOLHA DE SAO PAULO HOSTILE AND OPPOSED, AND O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO FOLLOWING A MIDDLE COURSE, REPORTING FACTUALLY, BUT WITH THE INTERPOLATION OF SOME NOTABLE IN-ACCURACIES, AND REITERATING THE STANDARD NATIONALISTIC DEFENSE OF THE AGREEMENT.

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7. O ESTADO, IN ARTICLES ON NOVEMBER 21 AND 24, CAREFULLY DISCUSSED DISTINCTION BETWEEN NUCLEAR REACTORS AND REPROCESSING PLANTS, ACCURATELY REVIEWED FORD'S OCTOBER 28 STATEMENT, BUT NOTED THAT BRAZIL-GERMAN NUCLEAR AGREEMENT MUST BE PRINCIPAL TARGET OF U.S. INITIATIVE SINCE IT IS THE ONLY EXISTING, LIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT. NOVEMBER 21 ARTICLE (WHICH INCLUDES ROUNDUP

OF REACTIONS FROM OTHER EMBASSIES) SPECULATES ON PRESSURES
USG COULD BRING TO BEAR ON FRG TO OBTAIN MODIFICATION
OF THE ACCORD -- U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE AND GERMAN DOMESTIC
OPINION ARE CITED AS THE PRINCIPAL LEVERS; NOTES CAUTIOUS
SUGGESTIONS FROM UNNAMED GERMAN SOURCES THAT NEW SECURITY
CLAUSES COULD BE ADDED WITHOUT CHANGING THE ESSENCE OF
THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT; AND ALLEGES THAT U.S. WOULD BE
CONTENT WITH NOTHING LESS THAN THE REEXPORT OF ALL NU-
CLEAR MATERIAL IN ORDER TO IMPEDE LDC ACCESS TO PLUTONIUM.
NOVEMBER 24 ARTICLE STATES THAT EVOLUTION OF NUCLEAR
TECHNOLOGY HAD FORCED USG TO REASSESS ADEQUACY OF
EXISTING SAFEGUARDS; THAT US OPPOSITION TO FULL EXECU-
TION OF THE BILATERAL ACCORD WAS AN IRREVERSIBLE FACT;
THAT PRESIDENT FORD, AS PROOF OF HIS SINCERITY, HAD
SUSPENDED REPROCESSING IN THE US, BUT THAT, ON THE
BRAZILIAN SIDE, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL SUCCESSES OF THE
"POLICY OF PRAGMATISM" WAS AT STAKE. THE TWO ARTICLES
NOTE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN FORD AND CARTER APPROACHES,
WHILE EXPRESSING VIEW THAT NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD
PURSUE THE ISSUE MORE VIGOROUSLY.

8. FOLHA DE SAO PAULO ON NOVEMBER 24, WHILE HIGHLIGHTING
THE US SHIFT FROM REPROCESSING TO STORAGE OF NUCLEAR
WASTES, ALLEGES DIPLOMATIC SOURCES HAD SUGGESTED, ON THE
BASIS OF US STATEMENTS, THE POSSIBILITY OF US ECONOMIC
PRESSURES. PURSUING THIS THEME ON NOVEMBER 25, THE PAPER, IN AN
EDITORIAL "THE SCORPION AND THE FROG", NOTES THE COINCIDENCE OF
THE AMBASSADOR'S BELO HORIZONTE SPEECH, REITERATES THE CHARGE
OF SUGGESTIONS OF US ECONOMIC PRESSURE, AND CLAIMS THAT
US DIPLOMATIC GESTURES WERE MOTIVATED BY COMMERICAL
CONSIDERATIONS. REFERRING TO AN UNUSUAL BOLDNESS OF US
DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES IN BRAZIL, THE PAPER CALLS FOR THE
STRENGTHENING OF BRAZIL'S POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL
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POWER BALANCE AND THE FORCEFUL REPUDIATION OF ANY ATTEMPT
TO CHANGE THE AGREEMENT.

9. JORNAL DA TARGE, IN ITS NOVEMBER 25 EDITORIAL,
STRONGLY ENDORSES THE US POSITION. THE NUCLEAR POLICY
OF ANY COUNTRY, THE PAPER SAYS, IS DECIDEDLY NOT A
DOMESTIC MATTER. BRAZIL'S NUCLEAR POLICY IS A SUBJECT
OF INTERNATIONAL, NOT JUST NATIONAL, INTEREST, AS IS THE
POLICY OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY. STRESSING THE EVER GREATER
DANGERS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, THE PAPER CAREFULLY
REVIEWS THE ESSENTIALS OF THE OCTOBER 28 STATEMENT, RE-
JECTS THE CHARGE OF US COMMERCIAL MOTIVES, AND STRONGLY
ENDORSES NEW INTERNATIONAL MEASURES, WHILE STRESSING THE
OBLIGATION OF THE TWO SUPER-POWERS TO GO BEYOND SALT IN
THEIR EFFORTS TO LIMIT AND REDUCE THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS.

10. O ESTADO, ON NOVEMBER 26, ONCE MORE TOOK UP THE ISSUE IN AN EDITORIAL, "MORATORIUM ON DISCUSSION OF THE AGREEMENT". ACCURATELY RECAPITULATING US CONCERNS, THE PAPER WELCOMES THE AFFIRMATION THAT THE US, UNDER EITHER ADMINISTRATION, IS NOT INTERESTED IN INTERFERING IN BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY WHICH, THE PAPER SAYS, STARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE ELECTRIC POWER NEEDS OF BRAZIL'S CENTER SOUTH REGION IN THE 1980'S REQUIRE THE EARLY INSTALLATION OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS. THE PAPER THEN PROCEEDS TO REVIEW THE BRAZILIAN POSITION. SOME REFERENCES HAVE BEEN MADE, THE PAPER CONTINUES -- INCLUDING THOSE IN ITS OWN EDITORIAL COLUMN -- TO THE HARROWING CONTINGENCY OF AN ATOMIC BOMB, BUT THESE VIEWS DO NOT REFLECT THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT. IN REGARD TO THESE EDITORIALS, FROM THE PAPER'S OWN POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, THE QUESTION IS WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD DO IF A COUNTRY IN THE SOUTHERN CONE -- OTHER THAN THE MUCH CRITICIZED BRAZIL -- SUCCEEDED IN EXPLODING ITS OWN NUCLEAR WEAPON?

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11. O ESTADO CONCLUDES THAT IN TERMS OF ITS OWN SECURITY INTERESTS, THE UNITED STATES CANNOT FAIL TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OCCUPIED BY BRAZIL AND WEST GERMAN. IT SAYS A MORATORIUM ON THE ISSUE IS

IN ORDER TO MAKE POSSIBLE ITS DISCUSSION, WITH ALL THE FACTS AND WITH THE NECESSARY CALMNESS, SOON AFTER THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW US PRESIDENT.

12. OFFICIAL REACTION. OFFICIAL REACTION HAS BEEN LIMITED. GOB APPARENTLY HAS NOT AUTHORIZED ANY COMMENT ON THE BRIEFING. ON NOVEMBER 25, O ESTADO REPORTED COMMENTS BY AN UNNAMED ITAMARATY SOURCE, WHO DESCRIBED AMBASSADOR'S BELO HORIZONTE SPEECH (REFTEL B) AS PART OF A PRESSURE PLAY AGAINST THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT. FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA WAS REPORTED AS BEING EXCEEDINGLY DISPLEASED WITH THE DIPLOMAT'S ACTION. O ESTADO, IN ITS EDITORIAL OF NOVEMBER 27, PRAISES FOREIGN MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR FOR THEIR MODERATION IN HANDLING THE ISSUE. THE PAPER'S EDITORIAL OF NOVEMBER 26, CALLING FOR A MARATORIUM ON THE DISCUSSION, CORRESPONDS WITH APPARENT OFFICIAL DESIRES TO LIMIT AND MINIMIZE PUBLIC DEBATE, AND MAY HAVE BEEN (AT LEAST IN PART) OFFICIALLY INSPIRED.

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13. EVALUATION. OBJECTIVE OF BRIEFINGS, EMBASSY'S VIEW, HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. NOTWITHSTANDING FOLHA'S HOSTILE TREATMENT AND SOME INACCURACIES INTERPOLATED IN TWO OF THE THREE O ESTADO ARTICLES, ALL THE PAPERS HAVE NOW ACCURATELY REPORTED THE ESSENTIALS OF THE US POSITION, STRESSING THAT THE US DOES NOT WISH TO INTERFERE WITH BRAZIL'S NUCLEAR POWER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. WHILE IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO DRAW DEFINITIVE CONCLUSIONS, EMBASSY HOPES THAT BRAZILIAN PUBLIC PERCEPTION AND PRESS TREATMENT HAVE BEEN FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED -- ALTHOUGH FOLHA (NOVEMBER 28) MAINTAINS ITS POSIITION THAT US MOTIVATIONS ARE COMMERCIAL AND NOW TAKES AIM AT O ESTADO FOR ACCEPTING US CONCERNS OF NUCLEAR WASTE MANAGEMENT. CRIMMINS

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